Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,102 August 9, 1957 4d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

SCIENTISTS TO SCIENTISTS

"Search your consciences"

The manufacture of H-bombs

AN appeal "to scientists to consider their personal responsibility for the development of nuclear weapons," has been made today in a statement signed by 43 members of the British Quaker Scientists' Fellowship.

The appeal is addressed to all scientists, "including those who have already searched their own consciences and decided that they ought to take part in the military research programme of their own nation, whether as a means of defence or as a deterrent to war itself," since the signatories believe that scientists must always be prepared to re-examine their premises in the light of new situations."

Among the signatories are Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, and Professor Lionel Penrose, FRS.

Moral law

The statement reads:

We recognise that the final responsibility for policy must rest with governments and with the peoples who elect or support their own governments, but we believe that there are few scientists who would regard themselves merely as tools to be used by other men, irrespective of the end for which they are being used.

Those who do take this position, either because they are the servants of a government which they trust, or because they accept a majority decision as being binding on individual members of a community, we would ask to reconsider three points.

The first is that history has proved that the most trusted politicians may be wrong and their errors in the era of nuclear weapons may well proved fatal to civilisation .

The second is that a majority is not necessarily right; a majority of the German people supported Hitler.

The third is that there is a law which should override, if need be, both loyalty to a ruler and loyalty to a community, and that is "the moral law within."

Uneasiness of mind

The development and testing of thermonuclear weapons has created apprehension among ordinary people in many countries. Among scientists in particular there is a growing uneasiness of mind, and misgivings voiced by scientists as soon as the first atom bombs were conceived have been followed more recently by statements published by groups of scientists in Germany and USA. The first, signed by 18 distinguished atomic scientists in Western Germany, sets out reasons why it is believed that the possession of nuclear weapons is a menace rather than a protection and states categorically that the signatories will take no part in their development or production. The second, signed by 2,000 American scientists of various disciplines,

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'We believe with Schweitzer that tests are senseless folly'

ELEVEN AGAINST THE BOMB

Defy law—arrested in Nevada test area

ELEVEN American pacifists were arrested on Tuesday—the twelfth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima—as they attempted to enter the Nevada atomic weapons testing site in a Gandhi-type protest against US nuclear tests.

A test explosion due to take place that day was postponed for 24 hours because of high winds.

The pacifists had told the US Government of their intention to defy the law prohibiting entrance to the test site by this act of civil disobedience.

Their protest against US nuclear weapon tests was "undertaken in a spirit of prayer and from leadings of conscience," they told the Press.

"We believe with Albert Schweitzer that nuclear tests are senseless folly, endangering the lives of people in the United States and throughout the world. Their continuance as part of the arms race will lead to a totalitarian world or to nuclear war.

"The law prohibiting entrance to the test site is necessary to the continuance of the tests. To register with our whole lives our concern that nuclear tests be stopped, a number of us will disobey that law. But we disobey it in a spirit of respect for law and democratic authority.

"We disobey openly; we willingly accept the law's penalty. We do not seek martyrdom. But we are ready to risk safety reputation and imprisonment in this effort. We do this out of faith in our democracy and as part of what we consider the democratic process to be.

"In a totalitarian society, civil disobedience against militarism would likely require martyrdom, and might through government suppression of information pass unnoticed.

"We trust this is not true here. We do not have adequate resources to carry our words to the American people. We hope our *act* will reach them and bring others to consider *their* responsibility."

They are supported by a National Committee for Non-violent Direct Action Against Nuclear Weapons and some seventy leading personalities in the American peace movement.

Suffering upon ourselves

Here are five of the men, and statements three of them made before leaving Las Vegas, where they gathered in a demonstration with other Americans:

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, St. James, Long Island, New York. Architect. CO during World War II. Chairman of American Friends Service Committee Foreign Executive Committee.

"Eliminating nuclear warfare is the most important practical issue in the world. I do what I do because it is the way I feel about it.

DAVID ANDREWS, Methodist minister from Greensboro, North Carolina.

"As a minister and parent, I am opposed to endangering the lives of children everywhere by raising radiation levels by even a single degree. As a student of history, I am convinced that any arms race can lead only to war . . ."

LAWRENCE SCOTT, of Chicago. Co-ordinator of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons. Until recently, director of Quaker Peace Education for Chicago Region.

"We will act in such a way as to bring suffering upon ourselves, if necessary, rather than inflicting pain on anyone else. Our non-violent resistance to atomic tests and the arms race will do no man harm. If joined in and supported by people of good will throughout the nation, we can help bring the world back from the brink of disaster."

JAMES PECK, New York City. A pacifist since 1934 when at the age of 18 he published a pamphlet on Conscientious Objection.

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY, Quaker director of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. He and his wife are both participating in the Nevada project, having left their four children with Quakers in Iowa.

THE BRITISH INTERVENTION IN OMAN

EVEN the most casual reader of the reports from Bahrain and Sharjah can hardly have failed to notice the absence of any explanation of the causes of the rebellion. Why is the Imam, militarily represented by his brother, once again revolting against the Sultan?

The most obvious reason is that he may be trying to restore the pre-1955 conditions, when he enjoyed ruling rights— only slightly limited by the vague suzerainty of the Sultan—over areas of which he has been deprived since then. But the real enmity between the two men and their regimes goes much farther back. It also stems from causes far deeper than the possession of even extensive pieces of territory.

The Imam, elected in 1913 to be the religious leader of the Arabian tribes of the region, is a firm believer in a theocratic regime—the chief priest being the head of the community, the decisive power in all things mundane as well as celestial. He

By **ROY SHERWOOD**

is a determined enemy of westernisation, opposed to what we consider progress, in plain truth a foreigner-hating fanatic. As such, he is admittedly less progressive than his overlord, the Sultan. That overlordship, incidentally, he has never really accepted, and with less unreason than might appear at first sight. For neither suzerainties nor territorial borders have ever been accurately defined in that part of the world. If it had not been for Britain's general support of the Sultan for many decades, the Sultan's overlordship might even never have come into existence.

As for Britain's support of Sultan bin Taimur, that is in the first place an in-

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Mr. Butler makes farce of "breach of peace"

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

OXFORD STREET pavements were crowded with late shoppers on Thursday evening last week when 300 marchers passed through on their way to leave letters of protest with representatives of the Five Powers taking part in the Disarmament Conference.

Organised by the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, the marchers were forbidden by the Home Secretary to enter Grosvenor Square because he feared a "breach of the peace."

Since the march of 2,000 women to Trafalgar Square and other marches organised by the Council have been some of the quietest and most orderly London has ever seen, it would seem that Mr. Butler made the decision for political purposes.

Hiroshima Day in Philadelphia

PLANS for observing Hiroshima Day in Philadelphia, USA, last Tuesday, included:

The handing out of leaflets in the centre of the city at mid-day.

A black arm-band poster parade around the City Hall;

A religious service in the Quaker Meeting House; and

A public meeting against nuclear tests.

A spokesman for the local Fellowship of Reconciliation, William Basnight, said the activities were planned in co-operation with the Nevada demonstration.

Two More MPs join "Unarmed Defence" call

SIR SYDNEY SILVERMAN, MP, and George Craddock, MP, have joined those Labour MPs and others who have called on constituency Labour parties to consider supporting a resolution on unarmed defence at the Labour Party Conference to be held in Brighton, Sept. 30 to Oct. 4.

The call has been previously endorsed by Fenner Brockway, MP, Leslie Hale, MP, Dr. Donald Soper, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, Reg Moss, MP, George Thomas, MP, Henry Usborne, MP, Frank Allaun, MP, and Basil Davidson.

The Resolution (No. 142), proposed by the Portsmouth (South) Constituency Labour Party, reads: "This Conference calls for a Royal Commission to be set up to consider the possibilities of unarmed resistance as a national defence policy."

HAROLD STEELE HOME

HAROLD STEELE, whose attempt to get to Christmas Island before the British H-tests stirred world opinion on the issue in the spring, has returned to England from Japan where he was asked to address many public protest meetings.

RALPH BLACKWOOD TELLS HOW THE VEIL OF IGNORANCE HAS BEEN PULLED FROM TUSKEGEE NEGROES BY THE

New Gandhian Boycott in Alabama

ON the campus of Alabama's Tuskegee Institute stands a monument. It shows the Institute's founder, Booker T. Washington, lifting the veil of ignorance from the eyes of a negro youth. The monument shows the veil almost, but not entirely, removed.

Years ago Booker T. Washington established Tuskegee Institute in Macon County, Alabama. The Institute was based on the idea that Negroes could make the greatest progress with a practical education in trade and industry and that this would lead to economic independence. Later the Institute offered more and more cultural and professional courses and became a highly respected college.

As Tuskegee Institute grew, nearby white-owned businesses thrived on the money spent in the town by Negro students and staff members. Also, Negroes of culture were attracted by the college. George Washington Carver's laboratory was set up on Tuskegee's campus and later a large Veterans' Administration hospital for Negroes was built nearby. The city of Tuskegee grew and prospered, dependent almost entirely on the money which Negroes drew to the area. However, most of the city's businesses were owned by white people.

VOTING RIGHTS

Tuskegee Institute partially lifted the veil of ignorance from Negro youth . . . but not entirely. Many Tuskegee graduates became leaders of their own communities or educators in various institutions. However, the veil was there.

Even within Macon county, just "outside the gates" of the Institute, Negroes still lived in shocking ignorance and poverty. Within Tuskegee city limits lived many cultured Negroes who wanted better conditions. Improvements could be made from city funds which came mostly from taxing Negroes or taxing businesses built on Negro trade. They lived in a democracy. Why not register and vote city funds to provide better conditions ?

authrity. As this may, today, seem mere

Negro citizens of Tuskegee tried to register as voters but found it very difficult, usually impossible. The white city officials saw to it that all but a very few Negroes "failed" the tests for citizenship. In this way the white minority—though outnumbered by 7 to 3—could control the city; levy taxes in its favour and spend the city funds in its favour.

Macon county, of which Tuskegee is the seat, is in much the same condition. There are 27,000 Negroes and only 5,000 whites in the county but the whites completely controlled the county by not letting Negroes vote. Less than 5 per cent. of the Negroes were registered to vote, compared with more than 50 per cent. of the whites.

This is in keeping with the State of Alabama's policy of maintaining white dominance by refusing to let Negroes vote. In many areas of the South, Negroes may have been complacent and uninterested in the vote. But this was not true of Tuskegee. There, Negroes wanted to vote. So few were registered only because the white officials prevented them from registering by various legal tricks which were easy to use in a city with all white officials agreed on one thing—not to let the Negroes have any political say.

Politically, the veil was firmly in place.

But the enlightened and cultured Negroes, who were probably far more advanced culturally than the whites who monopolised political power in predominantly Negro Tuskegee, kept pressing for their democratic rights. At the same time it became almost certain that the National Legislature would pass a Civil Rights Bill which would force Southern whites to let Negroes vote.

NEW BOUNDARIES

Perhaps because white Tuskegee officials suspected the Federal Government might be planning to take legal action against those conspiring to deny voting rights to Negroes in June the Negroes of Tuskegee found it easier to register. In fact, of the last 73 applicants, 33 were registered. If this kept up, Negroes might get some political power.

However, the white supremicists had other strategies for holding the veil tightly in place. Macon County's white elected representative to the Alabama Senate, Sam Englehardt, introduced a Bill designed to re-draw Tuskegee City's boundaries.

The new city limits would exclude all but about a dozen of the city's Negro registered voters. Englehardt's Bill was made into law.

The re-drawing of the city limits was an insult to the Negroes' dignity. But, in addition, it deprived them of many economic and personal services offered by the city. It meant increases in insurance rates, total loss of insurance in some cases, loss of garbage service, loss of fire department services, loss of sewerage services, loss of water services and others.

Tuskegee citizens will lose much as a result of this gerrymandering (you may need your American dictionary for that one). But this is not the only issue. If the white supremicists' plot succeeds in Tuskegee, it is likely to be used in every southern city with a large Negro population.

Officials of other cities are already studying Senator Englehardt's Bill. If the Civil Rights Law, now being debated in the US Senate, passes—and its chances seem good—then southern whites will be compelled to let Negroes vote. Englehardt's gerrymandering strategy will most likely be used in every southern area which feels threatened by Negro votes. In most cities Negroes and whites live in separate areas so white supremicists could easily set up new city limits excluding most Negroes.

Senator Englehardt, seeing that Macon County would still be predominantly Negro, foresaw need for more strategy to prevent Negroes from getting a voice in county politics if the national civil rights legislation is passed. He introduced a Bill to divide Macon county among the surrounding counties in such a way that all would have a majority of white citizens.

MASS MEETING

Tuskegee Negroes were disturbed. They started boycotting stores in protest, but there was not enough support. The protest soon died out and people again traded in white-owned stores.

Then on Thursday, June 27, 3,000 Negroes attended a mass meeting. The boycott started with the meeting. On Monday, a cinema and two shops had closed their doors because of lack of business. Up to date, the boycott has been almost 100 per cent successful.

One Tuskegee Negro said, "If they want to exclude us, we'll just exclude ourselves from their stores."

If the boycott continues—and it looks from here as if it would—Tuskegee's white-owned businesses will be wiped out. The Macon Theatre and the Tuskegee Fish Market and two other stores are reported to have gone out of business already.

Tuskegee's white businessmen depend mostly on Negro trade for their profits. Suddenly, all this trade his been withdrawn from the white merchants. The Negroes have simply stopped supporting those who want to deprive them of their democratic rights.

The Tuskegee Civic Association, which is spearheading the boycott, claims that business was so bad that the whites used a "cover up trick." They said that the businessmen borrowed automobiles from used car dealers and parked them around the square to make it look like business was good.

On pay-day there were a lot of Negroes in town, but mostly to cash their cheques so they could pay off old bills or pay cash for purchases in Negro-owned shops.

Coloured merchants put in bigger orders as their sales boomed.

ECONOMIC POWER

Reports say that the white businessmen have already put out feelers to the Negro leaders, trying to get them to drop the boycott. But now Tuskegee Negroes—formerly limiting their efforts to pulling the veil of ignorance from Negro youth—are expanding the field. They are pulling the veil off adult whites. And one of the first lessons the white supremicists have to learn is this: It is wiser to offer concessions to Negroes *before* mass protests start.

Some of the leaders of the Tuskegee campaign are: Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean of Tuskegee Institute and President of Tuskegee Civic Association which sponsors the protest; Mr. D. L. Beasley, Vice-President of Tuskegee Civic Association; Rev. K. L. Buford; and Rev. S. T. Martin of Mt. Olivet (African Methodist Episcopal) Church.

White people in the South have often under-estimated the degree to which they depend upon Negroes. A pro-segregation editor in Montgomery has spoken of the whites' "astonishing unawareness of the Negro's economic power."

Protests, such as Tuskegee's, while enlightening whites on the subject of Negro economic power, in addition, usually give the whites, who hold most of the political power, the idea of using their own economic power against Negroes. Boycotts and other economic pressures have been used widely in the South to "keep the Negro in his place." It will be surprising if white officials do not try economic weapons in the Tuskegee battle.

However, if white supremicists of Tuskegee bring their heavy artillery of economic pressures to bear on the protestors, they have another lesson to learn. The *new Negro* of America does not fight alone. Negroes have learned to unite and work together. They have learned that the chains which hold another's limbs today, if not destroyed, may bind one's own tomorrow. They have learned that they have support from other Negroes freer than they and also from liberal white people.

Already, Mr. A. G. Gaston, a wealthy Negro head of a huge financial and business empire, has pledged help if economic pressure is used against Tuskegee's Negroes.

More than 4,000 people turned out for a recent mass protest meeting called by the Tuskegee Civic Association. They jammed the Greenwood Baptist Church. Some came more than an hour before the meeting's scheduled opening. They had to, if they wanted seats. Half an hour before opening time the aisles were packed. Hundreds of others jammed a city block around the church, sitting on seats they brought out of houses, on top of cars, on porches and in windows listening to the meeting over loudspeakers.

The crowd sat in the jammed church, with the temperature close to 100 degrees, for nearly four hours listening to cheering, and laughing in response to speeches from their leaders.

There were several carloads of Montgomery citizens in the meeting—veterans of Montgomery's successful bus boycott.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., informed the audience that 50,000 Montgomeronians had voted to help the Tuskegee people in their fight.

NEW MONUMENT

So far, the boycott seems to be almost purely Gandhian, in spite of some comments in mass meeting speeches which seemed to reflect a rather dangerous vindictiveness and the arrest of one Negro for threatening another to keep her from trading at a white-owned store.

Under the influence of wise leaders and the recent success in Montgomery—only 23 miles away—all indications are that the scenes of a classical Gandhian boycott are being written on the pages of history.

Perhaps to distinguish their boycott from past ones which have often been vindictive and even condoned violence, the leaders of the Tuskegee movement prefer to call it by other names. They call it a "protest" or a "crusade for citizenship".

"Boycott is an evil word and it hurts," says Rev. S. T. Martin, who presided over the first mass meeting. "Knowing the Negro as I do, I do not think he wants to hurt anybody."

Negro protest meetings in the South are held in churches with prayers, hymn singing, and speeches rich in references and allusions to the Bible. The emotional pitch is high. Inspired speakers are rewarded with explosions of applause or, in more solemn talks, with "Amen!" "Yes, Lord!" and "Yes, Jesus!" in a way suggestive of a Greek chorus.

Mr. Martin was properly rewarded when he told the 4,000 protestors of an idea he had got while crossing Tuskegees campus.

As Mr. Martin passed the statue of Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee's founder, lifting the veil from the eyes of a Negro youth, he was struck with an idea.

"That beautiful statue shows that Mr. Washington has almost pulled the veil of ignorance off the youth's eyes," Mr. Martin said. "I think we ought to ask them to tear that statue down and erect a brand new one."

Mr. Martin's new monument would show a coloured man ". . . not just lifting the veil . . . but with the veil (already off and) stuffed in his pocket". And the man from whose eyes the veil would have been lifted would be Senator Sam Englehardt.

"No man, black or white, from North or South, shall drag me down so low as to make me hate him."
—Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute

LOOKING AHEAD

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To defend human rights in Britain and the Colonies

AN organisation of British lawyers to defend Human Rights in Britain and the Colonies has been announced.

The organisation, "Justice," recently tried to ensure fair trials for those accused of treason in Hungary and South Africa. The Chairman is Sir Hartley Shawcross, QC, MP.

"Justice" will act as the British Section of the International Commission of Jurists. It will be primarily concerned with abuses of justice, the substitution of bureaucratic for judicial processes, and encroachments on the liberties of the individual in Britain and in those territories for which the British Parliament is responsible. But where the International Commission thinks that the British legal profession has a contribution to make, "Justice" will, upon its invitation, examine the situation elsewhere.

Since its inception "Justice" has received complaints about the administration of justice in several colonial and protected territories.

It is also the intention of this organisation to set up committees of lawyers to investigate various aspects of English law, where it is felt that the liberties of the subject might be strengthened by amending legislation.

IN OTHER COUNTRIES

"Justice" will be keeping in close contact with groups of lawyers with similar objects, in other countries. A British delegation was sent to the Conference on Political Crime organised by the International Commission of Jurists in Vienna on April 24-27, and valuable contacts were made then with legal groups in Poland and Turkey.

Two members of the Council are Peace News contributors, Gerald Gardiner, QC and R. S. W. Pollard, JP.

Secretary of "Justice" is Tom Sargent, at 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.4.

50 years ago on the issue of the Channel Tunnel there came

COMMON SENSE FROM A GENERAL

WHY the Channel Tunnel has not been built is not because of engineering difficulties or of cost or lack of prospective traffic but merely because of "Military Objections". As the question of constructing the Tunnel is again under consideration it is interesting to read what General Sir William Butler GCB wrote in "Papers on National Defence" edited by the Literary Secretary of the Channel Tunnel Co. and published in 1907. This extract was prepared for Peace News by Christopher Hill.

Sir William wrote: "Every age is destined to have its particular bogey. In the (eighteen) 'thirties and 'forties it was the railroad, a line from London to Portsmouth being, I believe, the chief bogey.

"It is said that there is in the War Office archives a document from the hand or brain of the Great Duke himself (Wellington), declaring his opinion that a railroad from Portsmouth to London would dangerously facilitate the movement of a French Army upon the English capital.

"The bogey of the 'sixties was the Suez Canal. 'What,' cried the prophets of pessimism, 'Cut the Isthmus of Suez, and enable a ship to pass from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea. Then good-bye to British Supremacy in the East.'

The bogeyite

"Fear is an incurable prepossession. Against it reason and argument are unavailing. Man must have his bogey and no man insists upon his right to that inheritance more persistently than the Englishman.

"The more you are able to prove that the particular project is practicable in an engineering point of view, the more hopeless will be your chance of persuading the bogeyite that his fears are groundless. When at last the canal has been cut, or the railway is made, and it is found that the world still goes on as before—except that there has been a great increase in the comfort and convenience of the general public—everybody exclaims: 'Why was not this grand work done sooner?' But the bogeyite is not a bit abashed. He merely transfers his attention to other fields of enterprise, and he scans the horizon of civilisation for the appearance of a new enemy.

"The strange thing to note about these bogies is that they are always directed against works of utility.

"Anything in the domain of destruction would appear to be hailed by the bogey builder with enthusiasm. A new explosive, a projectile that will carry from Dover to Calais would evoke his unqualified support.

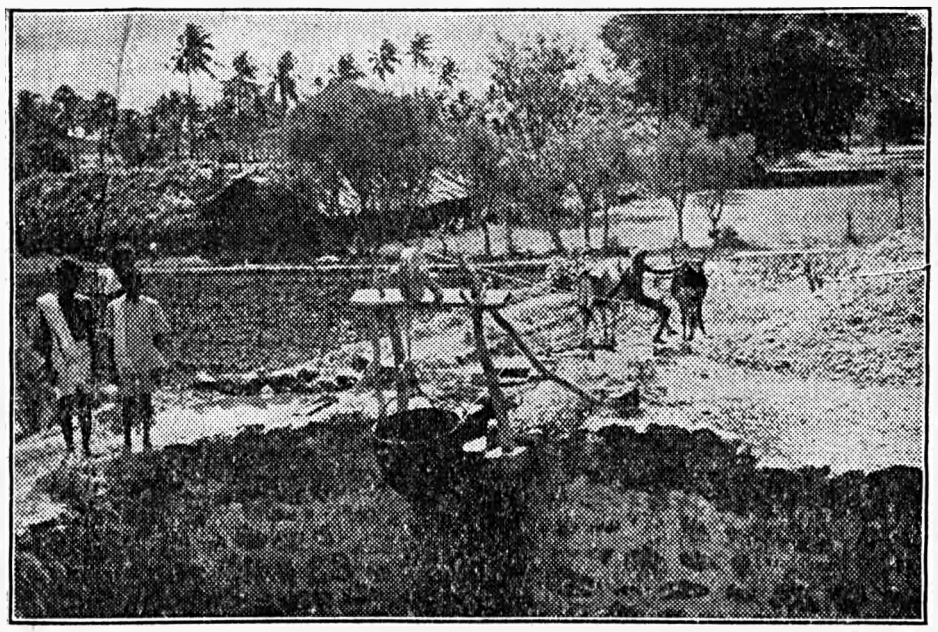
The recipe

"Optimism is always bestowed upon things bellicose; but in the ways of peace and its projects the bogeyman is a pessimist. For an expedition to Tibet or a war in Uganda bogeyism will devote millions of money (not its own, however); but in the cause of anything that would promise to bring the separated nations into bonds of closer knowledge, amity and common purpose—against that he will declare himself ready to die in the last ditch.

"Hot water and blood letting for the general public; keep the nations at loggerheads and bleed the taxpayers—that is the recipe.

"What may be the engineering difficulties in the way of the construction of a tunnel under the Straits of Dover; what effect might be produced upon the trade and commerce of Great Britain; what financial results would be likely to ensue from the realisation of this great project; or what return might be anticipated upon the cost of its construction—these are all fair and legitimate subjects for the fullest consideration and discussion.

"Let them be exhaustively examined and debated. But do not let this great field of a possible conquest by the genius of man over the rude forces of nature be prematurely closed and abandoned, because of old-world fears or prejudices."



Bringing safe wells to India

From a correspondent

THE North London Action Council for War on Want has adopted a well in Samaria, Madhya Pradesh, India.

Samaria is a village of approximately 200 people, 40 of whom are boys of school age. At present there is no school within the village, and no organisation for village uplift.

The provision of a well will be a step toward helping the villagers to help themselves in this direction.

To date, Samaria only possesses one well for its inhabitants and for the fields it has under cultivation.

Irrigation is carried out by drawing a leather bucket from a well, by the employment of animals, as shown above.

Lack of adequate irrigation means poor crops, insufficient food, and general debility among the villagers.

It is hoped that the provision of water that is neither saline nor germ-laden will invigorate the population, reducing such epidemics as typhoid and cholera.

The villagers are too poor to pay for the well but they will construct it. They will need to dig to a depth of about 40 feet, wall the interior of the pit with lime and stone, remove existing earth and water, and, if the ground is unduly hard, use blasting apparatus.

The NLAC for War on Want (19 Nassingham Road, London, N.W.3) have set themselves a target of £100 toward the costs.

ON HOLIDAY?

HOLIDAYS are in the air. In fact I am writing this well in advance because our printers will not be working on August Bank Holiday Monday.

Many of you, I hope, will be reading this on a beach, or perhaps during a country walk.

The very pictures that these words conjure up stop me from urging the needs of Peace News. Our financial position is distinctly sticky, but I don't want to tell you all about it this week.

We do, however, need an average of £120 a week over the next 20 weeks if we are to raise the required

£2,113 by Dec. 31

If you can stop at the next post office and purchase a book of stamps, or a postal order, and a stamped envelope and send it off to us, we shall know we are not forgotten. I'll return to the subject in this corner of the paper in a fortnight's time.

. . . and thanks to the anonymous well-wisher in Manchester who, sending us 10s., wrote as one "who sees in your paper the only gleam of light in a dark, dark world."

THE EDITOR.

Total since January 1, 1957: £1,087 4s. 6d.

Total during last two weeks: £32 3s. 6d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: I.N., £1 1s.; A. well-wisher, 10s.; M. C. Stott, £5.

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IN PERSPECTIVE

Road blocked : diversion

THE purpose behind the visit of Mr. Dulles has now become clear.

He was anxious that the Western Powers should present at least the semblance of unity and that the blame for any deadlock should be transferred from the Western reluctance to deal with nuclear weapons to the Soviet refusal to accept what would be claimed as a generous offer from the West.

His offer, however, is largely irrelevant and already out of date. The proposals increase the confusion between the different kinds of inspection necessary to prevent a surprise attack with conventional armaments and with nuclear weapons. The Dulles plan might be of some use in the case of the former, but it is no use as a safeguard against sudden H-bomb attack.

The Russians have already expressed their readiness to discuss a system of inspection which would minimise the risk of surprise attack with conventional weapons, but they have pointed out that such a system would be different to one designed to control the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It need not, for instance, involve the inspection of Siberia: it would have to involve all American bases.

The Western Powers can't have it both ways. Although the possibility of large-scale military operations may not have been entirely excluded, their policy is based upon the deterrent effect of the H-bomb.

The Soviet Union has been reluctant to create an illusion that an effective step had been taken when no progress had been made in the field of nuclear armaments.

They will almost certainly reply that since the real danger of surprise attack is in the field of nuclear weapons, the best way to avoid that is by means of a pledge from all the Governments concerned not to use nuclear weapons and an agreement to a suspension of tests for a reasonable period within which a scheme could be worked out for the destruction of existing stock piles and the control of fissionable material in the future.

Air inspection

MR. SELWYN LLOYD, speaking at Warrington, denied that there had been any stalling on the part of the British Government. Speaking of the plans for air inspection, he said : " The magnitude of this offer cannot be exaggerated. Think of the difference it would make to the peace of the world if all preparations for surprise attack could be immediately detected."

When the question of reducing arms is pursued as part of a cold war between two antagonistic sides, every step is beset with risk. Mr. Lloyd's comment suggests one of them. What is to happen when there is the immediate detection of " preparations for surprise attack " or the detection of something that may be interpreted as such preparation ?

In a world prepared for nuclear warfare it is obvious that this " cautious " step that is in contemplation may actually bring with it new dangers. There is today in literal fact no step towards " disarmament " that continues to depend on arms for security that brings with it less risk than would a courageous unconditional abandonment of arms.

Church conflict over disarmament

THE sharp disagreement in the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in America, reflects the conflicting views within the Churches about disarmament.

The Executive Committee of the Commission on International Affairs had produced what is described as a very balanced statement, asserting the need to pursue measures for atomic control and disarmament simultaneously. That was not good enough for the Bishop of Chichester who, supported by Dr. Niemoller, the President of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA and an Australian Methodist and two Asian representatives, urged that so representative a Christian body should make a much bolder statement.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America were opposed to the World Council going further than the balanced statement. The Archbishop, if he was correctly reported, declared that the Council must be concerned not with what some described as the urgent concerns of the common people, but with obedience to the will of God. Christians could decide to take risks which leaders in secular government, often themselves Christians, were inhibited from taking.

The Council later accepted a more precise motion which, recognising that disarmament would proceed by stages, urged all governments conducting tests to forgo them at least for a trial period, either together or individually.

It would appear that though the Archbishop was inhibited from taking the risks of a positive statement, and seemed to approve of Christian leaders in secular government making their Christianity subservient to political considerations and thus rendering to Caesar that which is God's ; he has made the best of the decision of the Council which he did little to encourage. Even so ,his claim that this is an extremely powerful and important Christian pronouncement is rather far-fetched in view of the fact that it says no more than thousands of non-Christians have been saying for the past six months or more.

The new tyranny

THE book by Milovan Djilas that is to be published this month in New York—" The New Class "—is likely to prove of very great political importance.

It comes at a time when the Yugoslav and Russian Governments are trying to consolidate their renewed relationships and when it is probable that the setting up of the " Comintern " in some new form is under consideration.

Stalinists, as well as many of those who have been ready to act on Stalinist guidance, have been greatly shaken, first by the Khrushchov revelations as to the character of Stalinism, and then by the Russian suppression of the Hungarian people's bid for liberty. This book, coming from one who was formerly an intimate friend of Tito, and who has been Vice-President of Yugoslavia, will open—in the West at least, for it is exceedingly doubtful whether any copies will penetrate the " iron curtain "—a discussion on the true character of the Leninist revolution.

In the early years of the war, James Burnham's book, " The Managerial Revolution ", examined the trend throughout the industrialised world towards the ascendancy of a new social class : those who secure positions of direction and control in large-scale industry and politics. In the 15 years that have followed we have been able to see these trends working out in the West.

In the Communist countries this change was carried through with much greater rapidity and completeness. The aspirations of the mass of the people towards greater equality manifested in revolutionary action were used for the construction of a new form of class rule.

Act of courage

JUDGING from a preview in " Life ", Djilas has given an account from inside of what a completely " managerial " society can look like.

The regime becomes " a form of civil war between the Government and the people," who are dominated by a class " whose power over men is the most complete known to history."

The concept of " collective ownership " becomes simply a cover for the fact that the party bureaucracy itself owns everything.

" Closely ingrown and in complete authority," says Djilas, " the new class must unrealistically evaluate its own role and that of the people around it. Because of its totalitarianism and monopolism the new class finds itself at war with everything which it does not administer or handle."

Djilas is serving a prison term at present for writings that met with the disapproval of the Yugoslav Government. Part of the manuscript of the book was sent out of the country before he went to prison, and part has been smuggled out since. He has told his American publisher that it is to be printed regardless of what may happen to him.

Djilas, with Dedijer, made an attempt a few years ago to start an opposition party in Yugoslavia. It looked at first as if the Tito Government might tolerate it but it was quickly stamped out. What he has done now is a political act of great courage.

Tailpiece

" I shall speak about disarmament. We do not, of course, use that word in any literal sense. No one is thinking of disarming the United States or the Soviet Union or any other nation."—John Foster Dulles, 22.7.1957.

Editorial and Publishing office.
3 Blackstock Road
London, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

PEACE NEWS
August 9, 1957

Distribution office for U.S.A.
20, S. Twelfth St.,
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

PACIFISM AND SCOUTING

MANY pacifists have been attracted to Scouting, but the two movements have never been happily and closely associated.

On the one hand the Scout movement provides the finest organisation in the world for boys and young men. The genius who created it devised just the right mixture of discipline and free initiative, practical work and pure romance, outdoor activity and indoor training. There is no doubt that a properly run Scout group can make a tremendous contribution towards turning our young people into good citizens, and it is natural that pacifists, many of whom have a well-developed social conscience, should be attracted to such work.

On the other hand, it is easy for any organisation which adopts a uniform, parades, an officer system and a pledge of duty to " God-an'-the-Queen " to develop into a para-military organisation or, at least during periods when conscription acts are in force, into a sort of pre-service training unit.

★ ★

THE Scout movement has not been immune. During the first world war, we are often reminded, the services of the Scouts were offered and readily utilised as messengers and in guarding bridges and vital routes of communication.

During the interval between wars it benefitted from the general revulsion against militarism, and many pacifists found in scouting an outlet for their concern for youth. Its healthy comradeship and growing sense of international brotherhood appealed to them strongly. When re-armament came, however, and conscription and other war preparations under the guise of National Service, they began to be uncomfortable. Despite their efforts to keep it clear the Scout movement gradually fell into line with Government policy, at least Imperial Head Quarters did : a National Service badge was instituted and in many areas pressure was brought to bear on unwilling scouters to train their boys in what later became known as " civil defence ". In July, 1939, an official statement was issued :

" In view of letters that have been received on the question of Pacifism the Boy Scouts Association wishes to make it quite clear what the Chief Scout's views are.

" The Chief Scout does not say that Scouts must in every case be prepared to join the Armed Forces, because he recognises that there are those who conscientiously object to taking life, but he does expect that all Scouters and Scouts shall be prepared to render National Service in some form.

" If a member of the movement conscientiously objects to taking life, his Scout Promise of Duty to God, King and neighbours, must compel him, if his country was attacked, to render service in First Aid, Air Raid Precautions, or the various other forms of civilian defence.

" It is clear that one who is not prepared to give definite and practical service to his country in the event of war cannot be a member of the Boy Scout Brotherhood."

The use of that last word caused some cynical comment ! It was now clear that " unconditionalists " were unacceptable.

The effect of this statement depended very much upon the local District Commissioners. In some areas pacifist Scouters resigned or were " sacked " ; in others it had no noticeable result. The upheaval caused by war, which started a few months later, soon superceded it.

★ ★

SINCE the war there has been a strong tendency for pacifists to regard the Scout movement with suspicion, if nothing worse.

Scout groups, however, are not cadet corps under another name. Considering that it was modelled on a military unit, founded by a professional soldier and (because of the two world wars and long periods of conscription) the great majority of its officers must have been men with some years of experience in the armed forces, it has kept amazingly free from militarism.

If, as the years go on, there comes at last a generation of leaders with no army training but a real consciousness of being " a friend to all and a brother to every other scout ", not only at jamborees but always, whatever happens, it may be a great movement for peace.

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS
a monthly column by
STUART MORRIS

South Africa

WITH the passing of the Native Laws Amendment Act, church people in South Africa have to choose between obeying their conscience or obeying the law of the land.

In differently worded messages the Anglican Bishops in South Africa have implemented the last act of protest by the dying Archbishop of Capetown and told their people that the Anglican Church cannot in loyalty to God obey the secular authority when its orders are directly or indirectly to withhold ministrations from Africans in any place of worship.

The Roman Catholic Bishops have also strongly denounced segregation and their Archbishop of Capetown has said that "the churches in my Archdiocese must remain open to all members of the Catholic Church."

It is good to find the leaders of the Christian Church taking a bold stand and it is to be hoped that they will be encouraged to continue to assert the right and duty of Christians to refuse obedience to the State when its demands conflict with the teaching of the Gospel or the dictates of conscience.

If so, since war is contrary to the teaching and method of Christ, they must drop the "but," that generally follows and which spells compromise, in favour of a "therefore," which will not only tolerate but actually encourage individual Christians to be conscientious objectors, and which will also challenge the policy of any Government which relies on the method of war to secure its ends.

Church and State in Poland

Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish Primate, has had his first serious clash with Mr. Gomulka since his release last October. Encouraged by his recent visit to the Vatican and the support he received from so many Poles, the Cardinal has begun a determined battle against pro-Government clergy and laiety, and in particular has denounced the Polish pro-Government Catholic organisation, Pax.

All loyal Catholics have been forbidden to use anything coming from the publishing house of Mr. Boleslaw Piasecki, the leader of Pax and the charitable organisation Caritas.

The censor refused permission for the Cardinal's pronouncement to be published in the paper which has become the mouthpiece of the Catholic hierarchy in Poland.

The Vatican has joined in the clash and over its radio declared that Mr. Gomulka's action showed that the campaign against religion in Poland has not ceased in spite of the greater tolerance shown during the last few months.

Mr. Gomulka may well fear that to allow any serious attempt to undermine the authority of his Government by the Catholic Church might lead to Russian intervention.

Inflation—Moral Problem

While politicians, economists, journalists and radio commentators are falling over each other in the attempt to explain in simple terms the causes of chronic inflation, the Catholic Herald asserts that the man in the street remains sceptical of what sounds too simple in terms of economic theory, says their leader writer.

"The truth is that inflation is at bottom, like most human problems, a question of morals. Unless individuals live by Christian ideals of justice and honesty there can be no cure on the political or economic level and yet who thinks of the problem in spiritual and moral terms? Modern democratic Governments have virtually given up spiritual and moral considerations except where it is a question of what is called protecting public morals of respectability . . . Surely here Christians as a whole could begin to give a lead by making the truth known and by trying to practise it where the chance occurs."

Agreed, but is not the Catholic Herald isolating inflation from the circumstances within which it has become chronic?

If Christians are to give a lead by making the truth known and by trying to practise it, what about the Christian attitude to war? Can there be the correct moral attitude to the problem of inflation until, because of their moral attitude to war Christians refuse to acquiesce in the immoral expenditure of resources upon the development of the means to destroy their fellow men and women?

THE FORGOTTEN CONTINENT

By Fenner Brockway M.P.

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

SOON after World War I an American woman, oppressed by the suffering it caused, conceived the idea of travelling the earth, living the life of each people, and writing a sociological study to prove that all races, whatever their differences of colour and custom, are fundamentally the same.

When she reached Peru she was impressed by a young revolutionary leader. He was still a student at the University of Lima, but he had established a strong political party, known as the Peruvian People's Party (APRA), uniting indigenous Red Indians, industrial workers and radical intellectuals. When she reached Lima, the American visitor found the city in ferment because, under the leadership of the young man, the students were on strike against compulsory military service.

Haya de la Torre, the students' leader, was expelled from the University. The American lady decided to devote some of the money she had set aside for her own pilgrimage of peace to enable him to study in Europe. He went to France, Scandinavia, Austria, Britain, where I met him. It must have been in 1930 that I had a farewell meal with him as he was leaving Victoria Station, London, to return to Peru.

Sought refuge

There had been a democratic revolution in Peru. The dictatorship was to be dissolved in a General Election. APRA had summoned de la Torre home to stand as the Party's candidate for the Presidency. He was defeated by a few hundred votes, the dictatorship was re-established, de la Torre had to hide in the forests. He sought refuge in the Columbian Consulate; was held prisoner there for several years under the eyes of an armed guard which watched day and night at the gates to arrest him should he venture out; finally he escaped to the United States.

A few weeks ago I had another meal with Haya de la Torre. He came to the House of Commons to see me. His political fortunes had again turned. Once more a revolution in Peru, this time a democratic revolution. His Party had been returned in strength. He is its leader in the Peruvian Parliament.

I have told this story because it is typical of South America. What is the background of this Continent of ceaseless revolution and counter-revolution? What are the causes of these continuous political upheavals?

South America was the first Continent (or should I write half-continent?) to become the victim of imperialism. The States of South America are now nominally sovereign, but they are still the victims of economic and military imperialism.

It is significant how the popular national movements in South America all regard their struggle as anti-imperialist. Their spirit and purpose are to win democratic liberty for their people and to end the alien domination and intervention from which they suffer.

Imperialism in S. America

Imperialism fastened itself in South America in the sixteenth century, when Spanish and Portuguese conquerors exploited its silver and its fruit. The conquerors, as always, also exploited the peoples. The Spain of the Inquisition enslaved the workers with brutal cruelty. Their plantations brought profit to the feudal lords from Europe but left the people in bitter poverty and disease.

The movements for independence began in South America when Napoleon defeated Spain. Let our friends in Asia and Africa remember that away back at the beginning of the last century the anti-colonial struggle took root in these States! After the capture of Napoleon, Spain attempted to reassert her power, but the national movements had become strong to resist.

British policy, unlike the role which it was following in Asia and which it was soon to pursue in Africa, also came to the diplomatic aid of the infant Republics which had been established. Britain wanted to trade, and backed them against the Spanish monopoly.

The national revolutions in South America during the nineteenth century, however, were not *peoples'* revolutions. They were revolutions led by the feudal landlords, who grew rich by leasing mineral rights to foreign companies (as do the Sheikhs of the Middle East today) and by transferring the Spanish plantations to themselves. The labourers gained nothing. They remained poverty-stricken and illiterate, serfs treated as less than human.

There were sporadic revolts and there were conflicts between feudal families for power. Military dictatorships suppressed the revolts and held power against lordly rivals. It was not until this twentieth century, when industrial and professional classes began to arise, that movements for real national democracy took shape.

Power of the U.S.

Meanwhile, the rising economic power of the United States began to subdue British influence. It is little realised today how great was Britain's interest in South America until the very eve of World War II. In 1938 one-quarter of all British overseas investments were in Latin America. It was the chief sphere for British investment, greater even than the British Colonies.

The invasion of United States capital was speeded by Britain's need to dispose of her foreign assets to meet the costs of the war. US investments, which in 1938 amounted to $2,600 millions, had reached $6,100 millions by 1953.

The United States now have almost exclusive ownership of copper in Chile and Peru, nitrates in Chile, iron-ore in Brazil, oil in Venezuela and Columbia, gold and silver in Columbia and Peru, nickel and tungsten in Brazil, lead and zinc in Peru, public utilities such as banking, electric power, airlines and telephones throughout the continent. In a sentence, the United States own South America.

This economic imperialism permits indigenous Governments, whether dictatorships or democracies, but it is the main factor in determining their character. Revolutions have been financed and armed by United States vested interests. In neighbouring Guatemala, in Central America, three years ago, the Left Government was overthrown by an invasion from Honduras and Nicaragua instigated and equipped by United States financial interests. When the Guatemalan Government appealed to the Security Council, the United States vetoed the appeal, condemning it as "outside interference" in Western Hemisphere affairs.

Democratic movements

Indeed, the United States has established a rival to the United Nations in the Americas—the Organisation of American States (OAS), with headquarters at Washington. It will brook no interference on the American continent.

The Central and South American States, which with rare and brave exceptions always obey the US whip in the United Nations, form a voting bloc which is larger than that of the Soviet Union.

This is an imperialism as powerful as the political imperialisms which Europe exerted over Asia and Africa. It is not now going unchallenged. Democratic and Socialist movements are arising in one after another of the South American States and they are uniting their forces to end the dictatorships and the militarism which rule their continent and "the imperialism whose tools they are" (resolution of Buenos Conference, December, 1956).

A representative conference of democratic, progressive and Socialist parties from almost all the States will meet this autumn to discuss the theme: "Imperialism in Latin America."

There is a lesson in this story for Asia and Africa. To end political imperialism is not enough. The peoples will not be free until military and economic imperialism are also ended.

South America has been the forgotten Continent in our thinking about national independence. South America is now taking its place on the map of the world struggle for freedom.

Must the Disarmament Conference fail?

By Professor GEORGE CATLIN

MR. HAROLD STASSEN, once one of the youngest and most brilliant Governors Minnesota ever had and now the US President's "peace man," is under attack.

Mr. Stassen is an optimist about getting disarmament at the London Disarmament Conference. That is presumably no offence.

Harold Stassen is certainly an ambitious man, who wants his conference to succeed. But who could contemplate with equanimity the failure of a conference which John Foster Dulles has said again and again is critical if we are ever to advance in disarmament?

Never have delegates who have sat so long hatched so little.

Mr. Stassen first came under attack because he was accused of "going behind the backs of his allies." That is to say, he had talks with the Russians without telling the British, French and Canadians all about it.

The matter was so serious and the representations so heated that he was recalled for some weeks to Washington for consultation and then told to behave. In brief, Stassen thought he could get some arms agreement with the Russians which the British and French did not want to have.

It is an old and consistent policy of the Russians to prefer only to deal with the really decisive Powers. This was the basis of Stalin's attitude to Roosevelt and of Roosevelt's policy in trying to reach a deal with the dictator, while FDR periodically tried to ditch Churchill as "an old-fashioned imperialist." It would be odd if there were not jealousies.

BRITAIN'S OBJECTION

The same situation recurs. The objection to the first step proposed by Eisenhower towards H-bomb supervision, by aerial "open-skies" inspection over some vast zone, does not come from the two great bomb-making Powers. It comes from Britain. The Russian objection is that last year's Eisenhower proposal does not go far enough, as well as that it spells unwelcome reconnaissance flights. As the Americans Press—which has been full of the subject—says: The British Government does not altogether relish the notion of Russian inspection planes flying over Britain. It is a fine idea so long as it is reserved for the other fellow . . . That another experimental zone, based on the Arctic, would include parts of US territory, is cold comfort to her.

☐ ON BACK PAGE

The third of four reports from Yugoslavia on "The Second Communist Revolution" by Sidney Lens, American trade unionist and author

THE DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY

WHAT has made Communism so frightening to people in the West is the overwhelming power of the State: the Government decides everything, for everyone. But this type of system puts a damper on personal initiative and personal initiative is a *sina qua non* for any industrial society.

Russia today is trying to fight its way out of this dilemma by decentralising industrial control. Thousands of bureaucrats are to be sent to the hinterlands, away from their comfortable Moscow offices and dachas. But Soviet "decentralisation" still leaves the decision-making powers in the hands of political big-wigs—though they now live away from the capital.

The Yugoslav Communists in the last few years have been operating on a different type of decentralisation. Their method is not only to shift control away from Belgrade, but to partially dissolve the bureaucracy as well. This system is called "self-management". It includes not only the workers' council operation of each factory but other facets as well.

People's Committee

Each local area is constituted as a "commune" and elects a people's committee to manage its economy as well as its political system. The powers of this people's committee are quite broad, particularly if you compare them with the administrative set-ups in Russia. They can even build new factories, or merge old ones, ostensibly without control from the centre. The degree of their authority can perhaps best be measured by the fact that they receive the largest share of the tax money.

Each apartment building, for instance, has a council of its tenants to decide on problems of repair and operations. The buildings are supposed to run themselves.

Each school has a council composed of representatives of the people's committee, the trade unions, the teaching staff, and the students. This council runs the school—chooses the principal, works out contracts with the teachers, decides on the curriculum, and scores of other items.

Intervention from Belgrade has been greatly reduced in this process. The centre is concerned only that the general provisions of the education law are carried out and conducts research. The national Ministry of Education, which a few years ago had a staff of 160 is now down to 50.

League of Communists

The same process of partially dissolving the bureaucracy applies to the unions and the League of Communists itself. The unions, which formerly had a staff of 400, are now down to 120. The Communist hierarchy has similarly been pruned, with the number of full time officials down appreciably from what it was four years ago.

The theory behind this is that the League of Communists is not supposed to exercise any discipline over individual Communists in their mass organisations. Communists now publicly disagree on scores of lesser issues. In the workers' councils they fight and divide over wage items, the hiring of a manager, and innumerable matters of similar import. In parliament they may disagree publicly on such questions as the amount of investment capital alloted to each of the six republics, or the education system. Conflicts between Communists in one area against Communists in another are increasingly frequent.

There is a tendency, however, for the League of Communists to impose discipline on matters it considers to be "fundamental". In one factory visited by this correspondent the Communists reported that they differed on many items, but that on the question of what to do with their annual surplus they voted as a bloc to invest it in housing rather than divide it as a wage bonus. What the League of Communists considers fundamental is not always so. Nonetheless the League does not have a sufficient apparatus at this point to impose the will of its top leaders on the day-to-day items in the arena of "self-management".

The major decisions of Yugoslav society are still made in the inner-circles by Tito and his cohorts. There are two *verboten* items for public initiative: foreign policy and the current plan for cutting investments and increasing consumer goods. The latter, of course, is popular with all people except perhaps a residue of Stalinists. Neither, however, can be publicly attacked.

Reduction of fear

Yugoslav leaders claim that even the secret police, the UDBA, has been decentralised—and that its number has been cut by almost two-thirds. Naturally this figure is not subject to private verification. The authority for handling the UDBA forces has, however, shifted to some extent from the capital to the various republics and even to local communes.

The effects of decentralisation and the free market have to a considerable extent also resulted in a reduction of fear. A Yugoslav today who would stand on the streetcorner and criticize Tito would probably be given a three-months prison sentence. Perhaps a year.

But if he made the same kind of statement to some friends, the chances are that nothing would happen. He does not have to worry about his Janitor or his child reporting him to the secret police.

The result is a sort of ambivalent mentality on freedom. One young chap, who is a candidate for membership in the League of Communists, told us:

"Young people don't know what to do. They remember the severity of the 1945-50 period, and they wonder whether they ought to fully participate in politics or if the old days may come back."

Dictatorship is gone

The old harsh dictatorship is gone, but a new vibrant democracy is not yet here. A few years ago, when the dictatorship began to relax, hundreds of thousands of workers quit the trade unions. Some of them have rejoined, but less than three-quarters of the workers and clerical staff belong. Even on the workers' councils one often finds members who do not carry a union card.

On the other hand many thousands of people belong to various official groups "just in case". One old man stated that he pays a few pennies a month to the Socialist Alliance—a belt-line organisation between the Communists and the people—because he would not want to jeopardise the career of his two daughters. He made it clear that he didn't think any harm might come to them if he didn't belong, "but who knows?"

Yugoslav de-centralisation and democracy really stands betwixt and between. The leaders seldom refer to their system as a full democracy. Instead they speak of a developing one or—as in a recent speech by Vice-President Edvard Kardelj—an "advance of democracy". No one any longer attempts to pass off what now exists as the "finest" type of democracy.

There is greater humility in Yugoslavia today—and that perhaps is the beginning of wisdom.

LETTERS

Mixed marriages

[Patrick Matimba and his Dutch wife live in St. Faith's Mission Farm in Southern Rhodesia. Their mixed marriage brought strong criticism from Rhodesian whites and Mr. Matimba only obtained permission for his wife's entry to the country after a court case.—Ed., P.N.]

I WISH to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude for the publishing of the most sympathetic notes in your newspaper on March 1 and June 14 about our endeavour to try to find a place for us to live.

You may remember that during my stay in Britain I was called to serve in the Army, under National Service, which call I refused, and later was brought before a Tribunal at Fulham on March 18, 1955.

You will also remember that the Tribunal was satisfied that there was a genuine conscientious objection to both combatant and non-combatant military service.

Now I have succeeded in persuading the Government of this country that they have no legal right to prevent my wife from settling with me here.

I must admit that there are still more difficult problems to be solved. I shall try to persuade the Government to amend the Land Apportionment Act so as to enable us to have a wider choice of place of residence, employment and business.

Meanwhile I shall remain here, through the kindness of Mr. Clutton-Brock, head of St. Faith's Farm.

I shall be glad if you continue to educate the British people and others that peace can only come if we all learn to regard others as good neighbours.

I do not mean that we can all advocate mixed marriages throughout the world, but at least we can demonstrate that it is no business of the State to choose who marries whom, especially on racial grounds.

To this we shall fight perhaps to the end, to prove to each other that race and colour are of no special advantage.

With your constant support, I feel that we shall achieve a state of affairs whereby no racial conflict will ever arise.

As did the Germans, the Europeans here want to maintain the purity of their race. From Adolf Hitler to Norman Straw.* The only difference between the two characters is that Hitler brought confusion and misery to the world and Norman has not yet done so.

I can only end by saying that your support is vital in this part of the world, before it is too late. Prevention is better than cure.

Unfortunately my wife and child are on a short visit to various places to see the life of the country. I am sure she joins her hand in this letter—**PATRICK MATIMBA, St. Faith's Mission, P.B. 41 Rusape, S. Rhodesia.**

*Member of Southern Rhodesian Legislature for the Rusape District.

Labour Party and Pacifism

THE 127 Resolutions on the question of the H-bomb and disarmament which have been tabled for the Labour Party Annual Conference, completely vindicate those pacifists who have asserted, against considerable opposition, that the Labour Party is alive to the question of pacifism and international problems.

I hope those 127 Resolutions will recruit for the Labour Party many of those pacifists who urge political action. There is still room and still much work to be done within the party.—**W. E. BRAY, 20 Westfield Avenue, Huddersfield**

Stop-H-bomb petition

IT occurs to me that the photograph which recently appeared in Peace News of our Peterborough Candidate, Bob Trafford, handing in at No. 10 Downing Street a petition against the H-bomb test, might cause readers to think that the Fellowship Party's petition had been closed.

In fact Bob Trafford was only handing in the Peterborough petition and if any readers would like to sign our petition or be sent forms, perhaps they would be good enough to communicate with me.—**L. H. STANLEY BiSHOP, 11 Bazile Raod, N.21.**

Tribunals

THE type of criticism which Adrian Brunel gives in his letter (P.N. July 19) is a sample of the hatred which could easily kill all for which pacifism stands. Anyone, pacifist or otherwise, can make one set of people look great by making another set look small. That is cheapening greatness. There is a greatness in the young pacifists who make their stand publicly, and it does not need the warped criticism of an Adrian Brunel to bring it forth.

I hope that any young people who are going to appear before a Tribunal within the next few months do not heed his letter, and I wish that older pacifists, who for years have been talking of loving their enemies, would show something of that love and not give injections of hatred and negativeness to the younger members of the movement. If this is working for peace, such people may as well go into armaments production and be honest about their feelings.

Talking of "dark little inquisition chambers," where professional arguers badger the applicants, and where sadism and vindictiveness are present can do no good whatsoever to the younger pacifists. It can do a lot of harm.

As a frequent attender at Tribunals, I find the whole letter nauseating and untrue from beginning to end.

There *is* something wrong when a young man has to explain before a Tribunal why he cannot take part in war. I suggest people who agree with Adrian Brunel put their thoughts into positive channels and discover what that something is, and what can be done about it. Attacking the members of the Tribunal is not the way.

If Adrian Brunel's idea were correct, wouldn't the Tribunals prefer to keep the "dangerous" CO, the one whose ethical objections take a political form, as far away from the Army as possible?—**M. JAMES, Southgate.**

Fear and morality

I FEEL that some pacifists believe that to achieve peace through fear is immoral. I believe that not to do so for our childrens sake would be immoral.

Sybil Morrison says, "For the pacifist the basic belief that war with whatever weapons it is fought, is wrong, the issue is clearly a moral one under any circumstances". I agree but only from a convinced pacifist's point of view.

Believe it or not but there was a time in every pacifist's life, when he or she used violence. Whether it was biting, or snatching a toy away from another child, or merely stamping or kicking in frustration.

Fear is sensitivity to danger, and it is this sensitivity and feeling learnt through experience and extended through imagination to fear and consideration for others that is, or can, develop into the outlook or attitude of mind that we call moral.

It may be that this great fear can be turned into a higher morality and will not only save man from extermination but help him to solve the eternal problem of learning how to live on better terms with his fellow men.—**J. DUNN, 13 Pasture View, Leeds 12.**

The word "pacifism"

I HAVE concluded, after much thought, that the public, or those outside pacifist thought, are more scared of the word "pacifist" than they are of an H-bomb dropping, even on themselves.

Would we not advance our cause quite noticeably, if we drop the word pacifist from all our literature and articles, as it seems irrevocably associated in the modern mind with Communist (Russian variety) or at best with shady individuals who are a subtle menace to society.

I suggest we use the word "peacemaker" instead, or peaceworker. That is what we are trying to do, even if it be in a poor feeble way, we are trying to "make peace," not just to "be pacifists."—**MABEL BAKER, Apple Cottage, Button End, Harston, Cambs.**

German WILPF

IN her article on "Pacifism in Germany" (PN—March 22) Mrs. Marie Cramer omitted from the list of German peace organisations, which took up activity again after World War II, our organisation: "The Internationale Frauenliga fur Frieden und Freiheit," the German Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, with headquarters in Hamburg. The Chairman is Mrs. Magda Hopstock-Huth. — **Dr. KLARA SWARZENSKI, 8 Sauerbruch Str., Berlin-Wannsee, Germany.**

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

August 9-11

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: Anti-H-Bomb Campaign. Meetings in various Church and Public Halls, Poster Parade and an open-air meeting. Details—see local Press.

August 10-17

BANGOR, NORTH WALES: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship Summer Conference. Speakers: Vera Brittain, Rev. Ernest Best, Rev. Mark Shirley, etc. PPU members in North Wales welcomed to stay or to any sessions.

Thursday, August 15

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Planning Autumn Programme. PPU Group.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Group Meeting. Speaker: George Bush.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. A speaker from the British-Polish Friendship Society. PYAG.

Thursday, August 22

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Group Meeting. Speaker: John Barnard.

Thursday, August 29

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, E.11. PPU Meeting. Group Discussion.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Peace News at the Jamboree

A SPECIAL Peace News sales drive at the Boy Scout Jamboree is being organised in Birmingham. More sellers are wanted to complete the 12-day rota from August 1 to 12. Helpers are asked to get in touch with Sydney White, 16 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17 (HAR 2362). Chairman of the West Midlands Area of the Peace Pledge Union.

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Reprints of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" are still obtainable at 15s. per 100, or 2s. a doz., from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

The Labour Party and the Nationalised Industries

BY JOHN HOLTOM

A National Coal Board Group Colliery Manager

Public Enterprise, Labour Party 1s. 4d.

TEN years ago large sections of British industry passed into public ownership.

Strong political passions were aroused, and even today tend to poison discussions on the future of the nationalised industries. The recent Labour Party pamphlet "Public Enterprise" contains very little that could be classed as party propaganda: it makes a very sound analysis of the present situation and some carefully reasoned proposals for the future.

No political party would now suggest that the main basic industries of power and rail transport should be returned to private ownership, and all men of good will should therefore unite to make them successful in every section of their work. The aspects that will chiefly interest readers of Peace News are, perhaps, relationships between persons in organisations that have been described as soulless giants, and questions of control by the community over these vast concentrations of economic power.

"Public Enterprise" mentions the efforts that have been made to induce better relationships in day-to-day work, and the sometimes faltering progress that has been achieved through joint consultation to give the workers a greater say in the running of the business. Direct participation by workers in management is not advocated, and it is emphasised that any increase in consultation should be by organic growth from the present position and not by imposing a rigid pattern from above. Where there is a wish to experiment this should be encouraged.

★

The booklet reviews the accountability of the Boards of the nationalised industries to Parliament, and reaches the conclusion that the present situation is reasonably good. Each Board is answerable for its stewardship, but must be allowed freedom from interference by Parliament or any other body in the details of management. For this reason the idea of an "efficiency audit" such as is applied to Government Departments is rejected, and it is suggested that any large-scale formal inquiries should be at intervals of not less than ten years.

On the other hand it is recommended that Consumer Councils, which exist for the exchange of views between the Boards and their customers, should be encouraged to expand their scope, and to make their services more widely known. As with workers, so with the general public, the emphasis is on consultation rather than direct control.

Any extension of State control carries the danger of a drift towards the totalitarian State. By emphasising the need for local freedom of action, coupled with the gradual development of effective consultation, the Labour Party has shown that it is alive to these dangers.

Spiritualists vote against H-tests

BY 1174 to 45, Spiritualists said yes to the question: "Do you support the Psychic News campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapon tests?"

Claiming that this 99 per cent vote in favour "gives a clear indication of the views of many thousands of Spiritualists throughout the country," Fred Archer in Psychic News (July 27) continues "and we believe that it accurately presents the opinion of our readers".

"It is an overwhelming vote of good sense and humanity," comments an editorial.

Three weeks ago the Spiritualists' National Union passed a resolution at its Annual Conference pledging itself by 107 votes to 18 to work for the stoppage of nuclear weapon tests.

The two motions approved by the Conference were as follows:

1. That this Conference pledges itself individually and collectively as a National Religious Body, believing in the continuous existence of the human soul, to work in every way for the stoppage of the tests of nuclear weapons, and the cessation of war, as a means of settling international disputes.

2. That this Conference bearing in mind that our religion objects to all methods of warfare, should join all religious bodies and other organisations in a world wide appeal for the banning of all armaments.

GREAT PIONEER

Robert Greacen reviews

John Locke by Maurice Cranston. Longmans, 42s.

A FEW years ago Maurice Cranston, who has had many associations with the pacifist movement, published "Freedom: A New Analysis," a volume which consolidated his growing reputation as a philosopher. Now he presents us with the fruits of eight years' research into the life of John Locke, the seventeenth-century thinker.

Mr. Cranston has drawn freely on the personal papers left by Locke to his cousin Peter King. These have been available only since 1948, when they were bought by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. This study therefore incorporates a great deal of hitherto unpublished material.

Since Mr. Cranston is here engaged in writing history rather than examining political and social theory—although this indeed also comes within his scope—there is every reason why "John Locke" should be read with enjoyment by the general reader.

Locke was a pioneer in diverse fields—medicine, economics, education and theology among them. Without his powerful championship, freedom of expression might have taken much longer to establish roots in England. "I know not," he once wrote, "why a man should not have liberty to print whatever he would speak."

In his "Letter of Toleration" Locke insisted that it was impossible to save men's souls by persecuting, torturing or killing them. The salvation of souls, he held, was the business of religion, not of the civil authority. All this may, today, seem mere commonplace — or commonsense — but it needed to be as passionately advocated in Stuart England as it does in Krushchov's Russia.

Mr. Cranston has not merely written what is certain to become the standard biography of Locke, but has done so with enthusiasm and considerable laconic wit, as he says:

"Unlike Milton, who called for liberty in the name of liberty, Locke was content to ask for liberty in the name of trade; and unlike Milton, he achieved his end."

Briefly

Dr. J. Fremlin, lecturer in Physics at Birmingham University told a Peace Pledge Union Garden Party that it was quite impossible to produce a "clean" bomb in the sense that its explosion would produce no radio-active fall-out, although it would, theoretically, be possible to produce a bomb with a short-lived radio-active fall-out.

Greece has formally requested the UN General Assembly to include the question of Cyprus on the Agenda for its regular twelth session scheduled to begin on Sept. 12.

The question of Algeria is wanted on the UN Assembly agenda, 21 African-Asian States have told Mr. Hammarskjold.

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India and nuclear bombs

India would not make nuclear bombs even if it could, declared Prime Minister Nehru in a speech in the Indian Parliament recently.

India was planning to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes, he said, ". . . in no event will we use atomic energy for mass destruction purposes."

He warned that there was every possibility of atomic colonialism in the world if fissionable material were left in the hands of a group of Powers.

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INTERVENTION IN OMAN

● FROM PAGE ONE

heritance from the days when it was important to establish and to maintain strong pro-British regimes along the coast of the Arabian peninsula for the portection of shipping to India ; and in the second place it goes back to the nineteen-twenties, when the Sultan made a treaty with the British Government under which he bound himself not to grant any oil concessions within his territory without prior consulation with London.

Even then the Imam refused to co-sign this treaty, and subsequently has also steadily refused to accept any of the various offers made to him by the great Anglo-Saxon oil companies for prospecting rights within his area.

Oil interest

With oil, as usual, being so mixed up with the causes for this rebellion, some people have jumped to the conclusion that this is a direct, though subterranean, battle between American and British oil interests. There is not much truth in this. Rivalry still exists between them, but most of it has been disposed of by the horribly complicated exchanges and counter-exchanges of share and control-divisions following upon the struggles in 1954 and 1955. By and large, the Western oil concerns now operating in the Middle-East present a more or less united two fronts—one against the oil producing countries, the other against the oil consuming customers.

But whilst existing oil wells have little to do with this latest outbreak of warfare between the Imam and the Sultan, it is more than likely that the possibility of the existence of untapped oil reserves within the Imam's territory may have a lot to do with it. The Imam has never made a firm declaration against the exploitation of oil resources, but he has made more than one to the effect that Arab oil should be exploited solely for the benefit of the Arabs.

And that is where the rub lies. Superficially, British support upholds the more progressive Sultan. Fundamentally, it upholds the pro-Westerner in his sumptuous upper-class regime against the man in whom the poverty-stricken masses believe and who is, at the same time, the religious high-priest and the high-priest of Arab nationalism.

Cairo Radio, needless to say, is helping him as much as it can, and Moscow's Pravda has expressed its indignation at the bombing by British aircraft in Oman. The Secretary-General of the Arab League has sent out an appeal to the member-States of the Bandung Conference "to support Oman in her struggle against British aggression," the head of the Oman Bureau in Cairo has appealed to the American and Russian Embassies and British participation in the campaign against the Imam, which was originally intended to remain limited to air action, now includes action by land troops "to maintain bases and lines of communication" but not on any account to enter villages or towns.

British troops

The Times (5.8.57) reports two other factors of importance :

1. That there are "disturbing indications of a possible spread of the disaffected area in Oman" ; and
2. That the RAF "will fulfil an already familiar role, which can be expected to include a bigger share of the fighting than it may seem politic to admit."

It is not easy to decide whether the military mind itself is childish or merely thinks that the public has a childish mind.

If the British troops "are not on any account to enter villages or towns," what is going to happen if the Imam's men men retreat into villages or towns and fire at the British troops from their vicinity ?

It seems a reasonable guess that the RAF will then take over for that part of the fighting which The Times thinks it politic not to admit ; and if that happens the least serious result must be the high probability of another United Nations condemnation of this country, with just the opposite effects on Britain's prestige to those aimed at and professed by the militarists.

That the result may also be infinitely more serious is glaringly obvious. Let us leave it at that.

DISARMAMENT CONFERNCE

□ FROM PAGE FIVE

What is the French point of view?

M. Jules Moch, sometime Minister and a French Disarmament delegate, has been pretty clear.

M. Moch deplored the British attempt to manufacture and to experiment with a hydrogen bomb-á-Cherwell on its own.

If "having our own bomb," so that we could at least hypothetically drop it on the Russians if the Americans would not, and force their hand, was to become the very symbol of national sovereignty and independence, then of course, said Moch, the French would have to have a symbol of sovereignty, too. He deplored it.

Nuclear Bomb Club

As it were with a shrug, he contemplated the day when Bulgarians and Jordanians would have a bomb. Maybe, beside the suggested offices in Monaco of peaceful Euratom, very little Grace Kelly bombs might be manufactured next the Casino at Monte Carlo for sale to all very little Powers who wanted symbols of independence.

To use the phrase of the Alsops, in the American Press, the real number one question was about the Nuclear Bomb Club and just how large its membership was to be—two, four, or many more. The Russians and the Americans favoured two ; the British Government at least one more, themselves.

It would be idle to say that issues of national prestige, grave issues, are not involved. The question is what proportion should national power (as distinct from, let us say, Atlantic Community regional power) occupy in our priorities.

This problem, difficult enough until we can take the plunge, is complicated by the present controversial policy of the Minister of Defence, Mr. Duncan Sandys. Nuclear development may financially ruin us if we are to keep the pace. Nuclear experiment plus full conventional defence will certainly ruin us.

Moreover, conventional armaments, which spell infantry, are highly unpopular. They mean, or can mean, conscription. Mr. Sandys, therefore, prefers to put his trust in scientific devilry. If it is not devilry, this is only because it won't be used. It is like a Chinese mask—but its papier-maché is fantastically expensive.

Mr. Sandys is all out, it seems, for H-bombs, latest model ; and he doesn't want the doors of this exclusive club shut until he is inside and not just a junior visitor.

Mr. Stassen's offence was that he misunderstood this in his pious enthusiasm for peace. So Mr. Selwyn Lloyd appeared in person at the Conference to thump the table. Now Mr. Dulles arrives to counter-thump. The British Press, until the Observer editorial of July 28, has not been very explicit about these issues. Even so eminent a journalist as James Cameron, of the News Chronicle, misfired. Many questions need answering.

Should President Eisenhower and Dulles and Stassen be supported?

Does Britain, in her present mood of emotional nationalism prefer to continue the hydrogen bomb race, with the French following on, rather than have Russian inspection, if only aerial ?

Peace News readers should ask their MPs—despite the odd coincidence that these matters always arise just when everyone is going on holiday—to press questions on Mr. Sandys.

In a matter of such unparalleled gravity, focused on this minute of time, Mr. Sandys, if his views are not those stated above, has a duty to make himself more clear.

Unless this is done, we can only insist that it is the bounden duty of the electorate of Britain, not to blame Germans or Russians or Americans, but to see to it that it is not the British Government which stands in the way of the first steps toward hydrogen bomb disarmament.

By Sybil Morrison

The Lights of Peace

If the news that British ground forces are to be used against the rebels in Oman means that the Government is determined to restore order quickly it is welcome indeed . . . We are bound to come to the aid of the Sultan, and to help him crush the resistance of those who have challenged his authority for the second time. —Daily Telegraph, August 5, 1957.

I see lights going out all over Europe, and they will not be lit again in our lifetime. —Viscount Grey of Fallodon, August 4, 1914.

LAST Sunday was the forty-third anniversary of the beginning of World War I ; I looked in vain for any reference to it in either the Sunday Times, or the Observer. It is, perhaps, remembered only by the survivors of a slaughtered generation.

The Second World War came, and caused the so-called Great War to shrink to something insignificant, especially when the bombers droned overhead, and the bombs screamed down on defenceless people in their homes, their offices, their shops and factories, and their hopelessly inadequate shelters.

The Great War was a thing of the past ; it had failed, we were told, to settle the major problem of German militarism, and here in 1939 was that hydra-headed monster once more raising its head.

With much the same propaganda, but much less excitement, hysteria, and flag-wagging, the British people went to war again, confident that they could do no other.

The end of war, for ever, was the high ideal dangled before the scarcely opened eyes of those who were young in 1914 ; here was a great cause in which to suffer and to die.

★

In 1939 the ideal was freedom ; the war was one that would rid the world of totalitarian persecution for ever. The idea of ridding the world of war itself had been conveniently forgotten then ; but for those of us who were innocent and foolish enough to believe this fairy story, it can never be forgotten..

That is why the date springs out blackly when I read it at the top of my newspaper; to me it is not just August 4, 1957 ; it is the day the lights went out in Europe, perhaps for ever, when I was young. And since then they have gone out, one by one, in many other parts of the world.

The struggle to bring peace by great armaments has proved abortive, though all the Governments of this modern world continue to cling to this outworn policy ; there are conferences and commissions graced by the high-sounding title of "Disarmament," but there is no basic intention to do away with arms.

Inspection, control, defence against a surprise attack—yes ; but to be unable to send troops at the behest of a Sultan, to put down rebels—no!

The answer to so-called rebellion is arms, whether it be in Hungary, or Oman; on the whole Governments tend to think very much alike on these matters, and it all makes nonsense of the real meaning of the word "Disarmament."

★

Whatever the rights or wrongs of the Oman rebellion, the attempt to put it down by force settles nothing other than which side is the stronger. War never has settled anything but this.

The bitter battles, the tragic bereavements, the dreadful mutilations, the disease, insanity and grief of two world wars have, apparently, not yet taught us this obvious fact.

The Third World War may well be delayed, but already the "surprise attack" has displaced the one-time certainty that the possession of nuclear weapons would make war impossible.

As I write, the guns are firing to salute the Queen Mother's birthday ; someday, if we must celebrate the birthdays of the Royal Family, we may, perhaps, find something more appropriate to rejoicing than the weapons and the sounds of war.

The lights which will illuminate a world at peace can only be lit again when we have discarded these weapons ; when those who sit around the conference tables do so in mutual trust, and when the countries who genuinely desire peace are prepared to sacrifice, sovereignty, power and prestige.

When that happens, the word "disarmament" will have come to mean "unarmed," and there will be no more war.

SCIENTISTS' APPEAL

★ FROM PAGE ONE

is an appeal to governments and peoples for the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

We welcome the statement of the West German scientists although we go further in refusing to co-operate in the production of any weapons of war. It is an illusion to believe that war will be permanently prevented through the possession by the technically-developed nations of weapons of increasingly devastating power. It is an age-old policy which though renamed has not succeeded in preventing war. Today, if this method of deterrence should fail, there will be not only hideous suffering but also the breakdown of those very social systems which the peoples involved are most concerned ot maintain.

Three immediate consequences of our present obsession with defence are that social services are being deprived of the financial support they might have had, under-developed areas of the world are being deprived of the technical help and capital expenditure that they need, and fundamental and even industrial science are being deprived of the services of young scientists and the full opportunity of contributing, as they might have done, to the service of mankind generally. (Although estimates are difficult to arrive at, there would be fairly general agreement that considerably more than one-half of the money and manpower devoted to science in this country is expended on military research and development.)

Attrition of morality

It is sometimes claimed that loss of life, physical suffering and even a breakdown of social systems would all be worthwhile, if by those means it were possible to preserve the ideals which we value most of all. The signatories of this statement, all of whom are members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), deny, however, that ideals *can* be preserved by methods based on the power to kill and maim millions of people. Such methods are to us immoral and we deny that immoral means become moral when used for good ends such as the preservation or attainment of freedom. We believe, on the contrary, that evil means ensure evil ends.

We suggest that this fact is now being demonstrated by the gradual attrition of morality in respect of methods of warfare that has been evident during the past half-century. Weapons that would have horrified our grandparents are now taken for granted and pressbutton warfare has contributed to an indifference to human suffering provided that it is not personally seen.

We welcome the growing opposition to nuclear weapons tests insofar as it is a sign of uneasiness of the public conscience. But we feel bound to point out that unless a cessation of tests were but the prelude to general disarmament, it would be no guarantee against a continuing and even more intensive application of science to warfare.

Appended to the statement is the declaration made by 18 scientists in West Germany in April and the appeal signed by 2,000 American scientists in June.

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Reg'd as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at P.O. Boston, USA. Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd. (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., N.4.